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ARTS FESTIVALS:

CONFIGURING CREATIVE FIELDS THROUGH TEMPORAL STRATEGIES

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RUNNING HEAD: Arts Festivals: Configuring Creative Fields Through Temporal Strategies

ABSTRACT (219 words): Arts festivals use projects to showcase creative works, configuring a creative field, whether locally, regionally or internationally, by whom engages and attends to the arts festival: artists, funders, media and audiences. This study compares the Edinburgh and Berlin arts festivals founded after World War II. Each city began with a founding festival. Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama sought to reconcile and heal international relations whereas the Berlin International Film Festival sought to showcase free expression and democracy. Both founding festivals were internationally oriented, as seen in their names. Each city added festivals over time and engaged in distinct temporal strategies and configured different creative fields. Edinburgh's additional festivals entrained to its founding festival, synchronizing in time and place five festivals which led to greater duration and intensity of the experience and configured an international creative field: artists, media, and audiences who attended and engaged with the city festivals. In contrast, Berlin's founding Film festival, which was internationally oriented, but was followed by festivals that were treated as distinct, scheduling each festival sequentially across a yearly calendar and configuring a creative field regionally oriented around Germanic language and culture. Thus, a city's temporal strategies for arts festivals may configure international versus local creative fields, changing who comprises the field to interact: international versus local artists, media and audiences.

KEY WORDS: Arts festivals, creativity, temporal strategies, institutional field, Edinburgh, Berlin

Arts festivals configure a creative field, whether internationally, regionally or locally, by coordinating which key stakeholders, such as artists, financial support, media and audiences interact in a shared experience and place at a recurring calendar time. Drawing on Falassi (1987) and Jones and Lichtenstein (2008), I define arts festival as a time delimited, recurring public celebration comprised of creative projects that engender shared social experiences and meanings for those who attend and attend to the festival. This definition of festivals entails three key elements; (a) *time delimited creative projects*, which enable a nexus of activity where multiple actors interact to achieve individual and collective goals, (b) *public and celebratory events that recur* at a designated time and place to (c) create *shared social experiences and symbolic meanings* through creative performances and/or products. This definition of festival enables researchers to “trace the unfolding of phenomena across time and space” (Maoret, Massa & Jones, 2011, p.434).

Since arts festivals enable the exchange of knowledge or creative goods that helps to integrate participants into a field (van Vliet, 2019), they are field configuring events: “settings where people from diverse social organizations assemble temporarily, with the conscious, collective intent to construct an organizational field” (Meyer, Gaba & Colwell, 2005, p. 467.) Most studies focus on how an event configures a global field (Anand & Jones, 2008; Anand & Watson, 2004; Schüßler, Ruling. & Wittneben, 2014) or place such as a city (e.g., Glynn, 2008; Leca, Ruling, & Puthod, 2015; Schüßler, Dobusch, & Wessel, 2014; Thiel & Grabher, 2015; Uriarte, DeFillipp, Riccaboni & Catoni, 2019). A few studies point toward the need to examine how similar events may configure local fields differently (e.g., Glynn, 2008) or create distinct fields (Thiel & Grabher, 2015). However, there is a dearth of comparative research on fields and how a similar type of event, whether Olympic games or festivals, may have differential effects and on which type of field—local, regional, or international.

Prior research on creative fields has focused on consecration activities that shape an international creative field by highlighting who and what is valued in the field, such as music (Anand & Watson, 2004), publishing (Anand & Jones, 2008), and film (Allen & Lincoln, 2004). Temporality is central not only to the definition of field configuring events, but also to arts festivals, which are organized around

creative projects (Uriarte, DeFillipp, Riccaboni & Catoni, 2019). Thus, arts festivals are an important empirical context to examine field configuration (e.g., Ruling & Pedersen, 2010; Leca, et al., 2015). Despite the importance of temporality to festivals and field configuration, studies have not examined “the temporal dynamics inherent in such project-driven institutional change” (Granqvist & Gustaffson, 2016: 1031-1032). Thus, the research question driving this study is how the temporal dynamics of art festivals, including founding time and temporal strategies, configure creative fields and whether this coinfiguring happens locally, regionally or internationally?

This study compares the temporal dynamics, including founding time and temporal strategies of two city arts festivals: Edinburgh Festivals (1947-1969) and Berliner Festspiele. I chose Edinburgh and Berlin festivals for three reasons: (1) they were founded as a result of World War II; (2) they are both comprised of distinct multiple arts festivals, enabling an analysis of whether the arts festivals entrained to an external pacer, one another or not at all ; and (3) how the entrainment, or its lack, to a pacer shaped the pace or intensity of each festival. The findings reveal that the two city festivals evolved and shaped their respective creative fields in profoundly distinct ways. Edinburgh International Festival entrained to Salzburg Festival, the leading international festival in the field of music and drama. As multiple festivals were added in Edinburgh, these entrained to the Edinburgh International Festival in an emergent, bottom up process that resulted in 50 events per day on average. In contrast, Berlin’s film festival first entrained to the Cannes Film Festival, focusing on an international creative field. Yet, the festivals following Berlin Film do not appear to have entrained either to one another as its festivals tended to both be spread over and shift chronological time, resulting in an average of two events per day in each festival and leading to an different experience of intensity by festival goers. These distinct temporal strategies configured the arts festival fields differently. Edinburgh’s arts festivals became perceived as the Edinburgh Festival—one arts festival—and gained immediate recognition by other international city festivals. In contrast, Berlin’s arts festivals were recognized as distinct festivals and varied in their field configuration. The Film and Jazz festivals became recognized as part of an international creative field (Mezias et al., 2011) whereas

the other three festivals—Theatretreffen, Musikfest and MaerzMusik—officially hosted by the city gained attention from and configured creative fields more regionally focused on German language and culture.

ARTS FESTIVALS: TEMPORALLY CONFIGURING CREATIVE FIELDS

Arts festivals are fundamentally defined by time—cyclical (e.g., recurring at a specific time and place) as well as comprised of temporary or time delimited projects. For example, Toraldo and Islam (2019, p. 318) focus on the “tension between linear and cyclical dimensions of time”. They, however, do not examine how this tension shapes which creative projects are included in an arts festival or which temporal strategies festivals utilise to configure their respective creative field. Toraldo and Islam (2019, p. 318-319) focus on specific types of arts festivals, such as Burning Man, that are “politically charged emancipatory moments...chaotic mass gatherings” and allegories for “dialectic of resistance and neo-normative control.” While their focus offers insight into some arts festivals, it does not illuminate the dynamics of prominent, established festivals that shape their fields, such as the Venice Biennales and Salzburg Music, which are over 100 years old and unlikely to be experienced as chaotic and emancipatory acts since they are curated by established creative field members. Despite temporality as a key aspect of arts festivals and other creative industries such as film (Jones, 1996), there is little systematic analysis of how the founding time of arts festivals and their temporal strategies, such as whether to entrain to an existing arts festival or counter-program, the length of the arts festival and number of events offered, configure creative fields that may be local, regional or international.

Arts festivals are both inscribed by their time and use time—temporal strategies—to configure creative fields. An arts festival is inscribed by its time when it is founded, bringing particular institutional and place based resources, such as assumptions, social relations and organizing models to the arts festival (Stinchcombe, 1967; Lounsbury, 2007; Meyer, Gaba & Colwell, 2005). For example, the Annecy Animation Festival broke out of the Cannes Film Festival, and the founders brought their experience and relations from Cannes with them to the new festival (Leca, Ruling & Puthold, 2015). Schüßler and colleagues (2014) describe how the local scenes in German music festivals provided key resources, both material (e.g., financial support from a town or region) and symbolic (e.g., a town’s name). To assesses

founding conditions demands comparisons across organizations and time; yet, research on arts festivals and temporal institutional work tends to focus on single case studies of festivals or a field, leaving unclear how similarities and variations in founding conditions and temporal strategies across festivals in distinct nations may configure a creative field and which creative field.

Temporal strategies are those elements of time that are more under the control of organizers and organizations. Scholars highlight key dimensions of time: entrainment, cycle, duration, and intensity (Ancona & Chong, 1996; George & Jones, 2000). Entrainment” is when “the pace or cycle of an activity [is adjusted] to match or synchronize with that of another activity” (Ancona & Chong, 1996, p. 253). Studies reveal different entrainment dynamics: some are top down and with a sense of urgency, such as university reform entrained to and urgency to adhere to the Finnish government’s schedule (Granqvist & Gustaffson, 2016) or the Catholic church designating St. Stephen’s as a material reconciliation of conflict between Irish Protestants and Catholics (Jones, Lee & Lee, 2019). Other forms of entrainment are bottom up, based on cumulative individual decisions, such as how the North End’s Episcopal Christ Church slowly, almost invisibly and repeatedly over 100 years through Rectors and key parishioners attached itself to the American Revolution to preserve its material form and embed its meaning into the North End, Boston and United States history (Jones, Lee & Lee, 2019). For many festivals, the religious calendar may be the pacer, such as Rio de Janeiro’s Carnivale (Turner, 1987) or New Orleans’ Mardi Gras that always occur on the Tuesday before Lent. A cycle is the execution of a single set of activities that repeat periodically (Ancona & Chong, 1996), such as whether festivals are annual (e.g., Berlin and Edinburgh) or biannual (e.g., Venice). Duration is the length of time. For example, a festival may run for a few days (Berlin Jazz Festival) or three months (e.g., Venice Biennale). Intensity is how time is experienced, such as fast or slow pace. In festival, intensity is experienced by the number of events, creative projects and works, that are offered by artists and from among which audiences and the media make choices. These temporal dimensions influence not only how the festival is experienced, but also who attends the arts festival, including which artists, media and audiences, as well as who funds the festival.

Research on festivals describes them as events to be managed and emphasises two themes: (1) festival experiences and meanings and (2) festival marketing and economic impact (see Getz, 2020 for review). Research that examines festival meanings and experiences highlights the audience perspective. For example, Jamieson (2004) employs Bakhtin to analyse the carnival like atmosphere of Edinburgh festivals by focusing on the street performances of the Fringe festival, ignoring the other five arts festivals happening at the same time within Edinburgh: Edinburgh International, Edinburgh International Film, Royal Edinburgh Military Tattoo, Edinburgh Art and Edinburgh Book. The sheer number of choices among these five arts festivals moves people across the city and creates the temporal rhythms and intensity that enable the carnival like atmosphere. In the second research stream, studies focus on a specific festival's marketing activities or economic effects (Getz, 2010). For example, Robertson and Wardrop (2004) examine Edinburgh arts festivals and how the city has created a brand image that attracts substantial number of tourists and contributes to the Scottish economy. They mention only in passing the role of the media in promoting this brand, ignore the history of the arts festivals, and do not acknowledge differences among cities that may affect branding such as having one, a few or many festivals entrained to another (happening simultaneously). Thus, the authors do not assess the temporality of the Edinburgh arts festivals, such as the intensity due to the number of creative works offered within and across festivals, and how this temporality configures creative fields (e.g., who attends and interacts) to shape economic contribution of the arts festivals to the city.

Festivals configure a field by coordinating key stakeholders and resources, such as artists who offer creative projects, funders who support, media who report and audience who attend creative works. A critical question is whether and to what a new arts festival is entrained, if at all, and how this influences attention to and configures different creative fields. Arts festivals may also set a new trajectory for the field by deinstitutionalizing one type of event and replacing it with another, such as Impressionist shows replacing the French Academy (Delacour & Leca, 2011). Despite the importance of temporality to arts festivals, their temporal dynamics that facilitate social interaction has largely been ignored (Schüßler & Sydow, 2015) by both management and festival scholars. Thus, we have little insight into how the

temporal dynamics among arts festivals within a city create, or not, a perceived intensity that attracts artists, funders, audiences and media. This suggests a need to examine arts festivals with a “focus more on both their spatial and temporal dimensions” (Schüßler, Ruling, & Wittenben, 2014, p. 164).

ANALYTIC APPROACH AND DATA

Following the advice of Meyer et al. (2005, p. 456, 470), I employed a longitudinal research design, focused on processes, attended to turning points and examined multiple levels, including founders, events and multiple festivals. I undertook an archival, historical approach (Ventresca & Mohr, 2002) of Berlin’s and Edinburgh’s city sponsored arts festivals, locating each arts festival within its space (city geography) and time (founding data and historical context) to understand how the arts festivals’ temporal dynamics configured creative fields and which creative field: local, regional or international.

First, I focused on the natural histories of the two cities to understand how the festivals arose and their relevant spatial, cultural and material resources. I began by reading histories of Edinburgh (Buchan, 2003; Weiner, 2016) and Scotland (Herman, 2007). I then focused on the history of Berlin (Richie, 1999) and visited various websites, such as Encyclopedia Britannica and Wikipedia. I could find only one book (and in German) on the Berlin Film Festivals (Jacobsen, 1990).

Second, I examined each city’s festival website to identify which festivals were designated and included as part of the official city festival. Both cities have numerous festivals, which may be permitted by but are not organized in conjunction with city offices and agencies. For Edinburgh, I read a mix of autobiographical, retrospective accounts by key decision makers involved in the arts festivals and their founding (e.g., Crawford, 1997; Hardy, 1992; Moffat, 1978), and scholarly texts (e.g., Bartie, 2013; Harvie, 2003; Miller, 1996). I also examined each arts festival’s website to find archival information about its temporal dynamics. Since both Berlin and Edinburgh festival cycles are annual events, I focused on the other temporal strategies used by the city and festivals: (1) entrained and to what, or not entrained, (2) duration—the length of time a festival runs, and (3) the intensity—the number of creative projects or creative events offered by each festival, defining the choices for audiences and media.

Edinburgh had four festivals founded between 1945 and 1969: (1) Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama (later shortened to Edinburgh International Festival) (1947), whose founding and programmes are contained in the Miller (1996) book; (2) Edinburgh International Fringe Festival (1947), which was ad hoc until 1958 Fringe Society was formed; it has no online or official archive until 2011. The creative projects and events were compiled by making a detailed listing from the *Edinburgh Evening News* for the years 1947-1969; (3) Edinburgh International Film Festival (1947) also does not have online archives. Thus, I used news reports in the *New York Times*, which listed the number of films in specific years: 1949 was 150 for one week, 1951 was 200 films for two weeks and 1955 as 200 films. Similar to the Berlin Film Festival, I estimated two screenings per film to calculate the number of events; (4) The Royal Edinburgh Military Tattoo (1950) started as part of Edinburgh International Festival and spun off in 1950. I accessed the website and read the history, which listed the first events: 1949 had two productions and then 20 shows per festival during the 1950s.

For Berlin, the first International Festival was the Berlin Film Festival (also known as the Berlinale), which has extensive online archives. To calculate number of film screenings for Berlinale, I used the archives to identify the number of unique films each year, which ranged between 4 and 25 with an average of 11 per year. Wikipedia lists 995 screenings for 441 films at the 2014 Berlinale, or two screenings per film (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin_International_Film_Festival Accessed 29 July 2020). Hence, I estimated the number of screenings as two times the number of films for each year, which resulted in an average of 23 film screenings. I also consulted the web page for Berliner Festspiele to identify the other festivals launched before 1969, which listed: (1) Berlin Musikfest (1951) with online archives 2004-2019, (2) Berlin Jazz Festival (1964) with online archives 1964-2019, (3) Berliner Theatertreffen (1964) with online archives 1964-2019, and (4) MaerzMusik (1966) with online archives 2005-2019. For the missing data from the first festivals, I took the first two years of archival data, usually 2004 or 2005, as a proxy for the first events, which likely overstates the number of early events.

Third, I focused on media reports from the *New York Times* for three reasons: (1) the *Edinburgh Evening News* had noted that Americans were a key target market because they had money to travel

whereas residents of European countries were financially and physically disrupted due to World War II; (2) the *New York Times* is the most important American newspaper; and has an online historical archive dating back to the 1890s, and (3) the Americans were key in establishing the Berlinale and the Berlin festivals. I used the search terms “Edinburgh AND Festival?” and “Berlin AND Festival?”, specifying 1945 (before the first festival) and 1969, effectively 20-25 years after the city’s first festival.

Fourth, to understand the amount of public discourse and their relative importance of the festivals in English and German texts, I used Google Ngram for books 1945-1969 with three year smoothing across the time-period. I tried various combinations of terms—Berlin Festival, Edinburgh Festival, Edinburgher Festspiele, Berliner Festspiele, and found two combinations captured the greatest responses: (1) “Edinburgh Festival” and “Berlin Festival” for English texts and (2) “Edinburgher Festspiele” and “Berliner Festspiele” for German texts.

FINDINGS

Table 1 shows each city’s temporal founding conditions, temporal strategies (entraining, duration, intensity) and audience type and attention, revealing their similarities and differences. These data are discussed more in-depth in the following sections.

Insert Table 1 about here

Historical Founding Conditions: Spatial, Cultural and Material Resources

The histories of the Edinburgh and Berlin festivals have remarkable parallels. Both festivals were founded in the aftermath of World War II to heal and reconnect a war torn, devastated world, eschew nationalism, and use arts as a form of international relations. The international aspirations are in the title for each first festival: Edinburgh International and Berlin International Film. Despite the remarkable parallels of Edinburgh and Berlin founding conditions, each city offered spatial, cultural and material resources that shaped their founding festival in unique ways. Spatial resources included Edinburgh’s peripheral location, which avoided destruction whereas Berlin’s central location was destroyed during World War II. When hosting its festivals, Edinburgh utilized (and still does) public spaces: parks, squares, churches and streets for performances. Berlin rebuilt key theatres and appeared to utilize less public

spaces as performance venues. Cultural resources include each city's intellectual history and commitment to the arts that enabled it to launch arts festivals and engage international and local audiences. Material resources included national and local funding and talent in Edinburgh whereas Berlin had funding and entrepreneurial talent from the U.S. as well as local and national artistic and administrative German talent.

Edinburgh. Edinburgh's history highlights the importance of being literate and producing literature. In the 16th century, the Scottish Presbyterian church replaced Catholicism as the dominant religion, focusing on the word and Bible, engaging in a literacy campaign through parishes, and displacing visual icons as the central form of religious communication (Bartie, 2013). Edinburgh created the world's first circulating library in 1725 and Edinburgh University created the first English department in the world by appointing the Regius Professorship of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in 1762 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regius_Chair_of_Rhetoric_and_English_Literature). Edinburgh attracted noted intellectuals and writers during the Scottish enlightenment, such as Adam Smith, David Hume, Sir Walter Scot, the poet Robert Burns, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. In 2002, Edinburgh appointed a makar—Scottish for poet or bard who holds the post for a three-year term. In 2004, Edinburgh was the first UNESCO city of literature. This history explains the support in 1945 from leaders, Town Council and the residents for a proposed arts festival that focused on drama and music.

In 1945, Rudolf Bing, an Austrian who fled Nazi Germany, conceived of the International Festival Music and Drama Festival. Bing was the Director of the Glyndebourne Opera company in England, and was motivated to find additional performance venues to support financially the Glyndebourne Opera company (Miller, 1994; Bartie, 2013). He saw an opportunity from the devastation of World War II to launch a new festival in the United Kingdom. Bing originally wished to locate the festival in Cambridge or Oxford, but these towns showed little enthusiasm for his idea (Crawford, 1997; Miller, 1996). When pitching his idea to the British Council in London, a representative from Scotland—Harvey Wood—was present and suggested Edinburgh for its beauty, whose infrastructure had not been bombed, and thus could host 50,000-150,000 visitors, and its receptivity to the idea (Miller, 1994). After

directing the Edinburgh International Festival from 1947-1949, Bing went on to head up the Metropolitan Opera in New York City.

The mission of the Edinburgh International Festival was enacted in its programme, which reunited artists and audiences driven apart by the war. Bruno Walter, who fled Austria with the Nazi takeover, was reunited with the Vienna Philharmonic (Hussey, 1947, New York Times Sept 10, p. 32) and paired with the English Soprano Kathleen Ferrier, bringing into harmony countries formerly in conflict. The festival's mission of building international relations through culture was shaped by The British Council. The British Council not only co-funded the Edinburgh International Festival but also set up the meeting where Rudolf Bing pitched the festival to John Falconner, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, along with other key Edinburgh elites, who then advocated the Festival to Edinburgh's Town Council, which added money to the British Council's support (Bartie, 2013; Crawford, 1997; Miller, 1996). As practical Scots, the Town Council demanded the festival generate income to help pay for and continue future festivals. The Lord Provost and Town Council saw the potential for the festival to transform Edinburgh from a perceived backwater into a cultural centre of Europe for three weeks a year (Miller, 1996). Salzburg was used as the model for the Edinburgh International Festival, and the August date was entrained to overlap with the Salzburg Festival, which took place from July 27-August 31 in 1947.

Within Scotland, the Edinburgh International Festival was perceived as prioritizing international over national culture and talent (Bartie, 2013; Miller, 1996) and thus focusing on configuring an international creative field. This perceived international focus spurred three other arts festivals that celebrated and sought to configure Scottish creative fields. These three arts festivals entrained to the Edinburgh International: (1) the Fringe in 1945 with local theatre talent (Moffat, 1978), (2) the Edinburgh International Film festival in 1945 organized by the Scottish Film Guild that focused on documentaries (Hardy, 1992), and (3) the Royal Edinburgh Military Tattoo, which showcased Scottish Military piping and dances. These four festivals configured both international and local creative fields: Edinburgh to reconfigure the existing elite, international performing arts and documentary films creative fields (Edinburgh International and Edinburgh International Film) and Edinburgh to configure Scottish arts and

culture (Fringe and Military Tattoo). Edinburgh utilised its theatres and public spaces (parks, streets, churches etc) to host the four festivals.

Berlin. Established in the early 13th century, Berlin due to its “exposed position was subject to endless migrations and wars” (Richie, 1999, p. 2). Berlin became a transportation hub due to the Spree River and building of canals, roads and rail lines, attracting “French, Jewish, Dutch, Polish, Russian, Austrian, and Turkish immigrants” and making Berlin a cosmopolitan city (<https://www.britannica.com/place/Berlin/Berlin-divided>). Berlin also became a centre of industrial power, the arts, intellectual life with its museum, universities and institutes, and militarism. “No other city on earth has had such a turbulent history; no other capital has repeatedly become so powerful and then fallen so low” (Richie, 1999, p. xviii).

In 1945 Berlin was divided amongst the Soviets, Americans, British and French for joint oversight. The Soviets, who arrived first, began an oppressive rule: raping Berlin women, conscripting Berlin’s top scientists to the Soviet Union and using Berliners as forced labor to pillage the city’s heritage (thousands of priceless art works, rare manuscripts, and the contents of 25 medical and scientific libraries) and factories were shipped to the Soviet Union. In 1947 the Americans, British and French combined their sections into West Berlin and built a radio channel for Berliners to have free communication with one another and offset Soviet domination of the city. In 1948 Stalin blocked all access—roads, canals, rail links—to Berlin, depriving West Berliners of food and necessities. The Americans airlifted food and fuel: up to 7,845 tons a day of food and coal, spurring strong pro-Western sentiments among Berliners. Although Stalin and East German political leaders ended the blockade, they continued to oppress East Germans, who increasingly immigrated to West Berlin. By 1950, “Berlin was known as a city where nothing and nobody was what they seemed, where no innocent conversation or casual encounter could be taken at face value” (Richie, 1999, p. 697).

The first two Berlin festivals—Berlin Film Festival (also called The Berlinale) and Berliner Festwochen (Berlin Festival Week)—were founded in 1951 as strategic investments made by the U.S. The festivals were symbolic and material combat: to showcase the benefits of Western democracy and counter

the spread of Soviet communism. Since the Berlin Wall was not erected until 1961, East and West Germans could share and enjoy the two Berlin festivals; thus the arts festivals also built bridges and relations among East and West Germans.

The Berlin film festival was first held in June, entraining to the Cannes Film Festival held in May 1951, and focused on international artists and audiences, seeking to become part of an international creative field. The Berlin Film Festival was the brainchild of an American Film Officer, Oscar Martay, who in 1950 formed a committee of British, Berlin politicians, German film industry members, and a journalist to set up the festival. The Berlin Film Festival was imprinted with the cultural and material resources of its time. Oscar Martay suggested Alfred Bauer, a film historian and he “ran the festival from 1951 to 1976...as a symbol of the Berlinale's core values of openness, tolerance and the embrace of the other” (Roxborough, 2020). The Berlin Film Festival website highlights how the Cold War continues to shape its mission and its controversies: “as a ‘showcase of the free world...a place of intercultural exchange and a platform for the critical cinematic exploration of social issues. To this day it is considered the most political of all the major film festivals.” (<https://www.berlinale.de/en/festival/profile/festival-profile.html>, accessed 29 July 2020). In January 2020, on the 70th Anniversary of the Berlin film festival, *Die Zeit*, an influential German newspaper, revealed that Alfred Bauer had been a “high-ranking member of the Reichsfilmintendanz, the film division of the Nazi propaganda ministry” (Roxborough, 2020). The Berlinale immediately suspended the Bauer award and “commissioned the ‘Institute for Contemporary History’ (IfZ) to research the issue (https://www.berlinale.de/en/press/press-releases/detail_40904.html?openedFromSearch=true Accessed 30 July 2020). Thus, the Berlinale’s founding imprinted and shapes the film festival to this day.

In 1951 Berlin also held the Berliner Festwochen (Berlin Festival Week), which was organized six months after the Berlin Film festivals, setting up a calendar based on sequential and distinct festivals. Berliner Festwochen was also shaped by U.S foreign policy: the first director was Nikolas Nabokov who was the “Secretary General of the newly formed Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), backed by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and remained in the job for more than fifteen years, organizing music and

cultural festivals” (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nicolas_Nabokov, Accessed 1 Aug 2020). The arts festival focused on music and theatre and originally sought to become part of an international creative field. The *New York Times* declared: “Berlin Planning Festival of Arts To Point Up Culture in the West: Operas, Concerts, Plays and Ballets Are Scheduled From Sept. 6 to 30-- U.S. Giving Financial Help” (May 27, 1951, p. 58). The festivals were initiated amidst Cold War tensions and succeeded in attracting East Germans, who lived under communism, to West Germany and its democratic state. By 1961, three million East Germans had registered as immigrants. East German leadership commanded a human fence of 40,000 soldiers and policeman to block East Berlin from West Berlin and later erected a wall (Ritchie, 1999). In 1964, the Berliner Festwochen was reconstituted as the Berliner Fiestspiele and added two new festivals: Berlin Jazz Festival (1964) and MaerzMusik (1966). At this time, the Berliner Fiestspiele shifted from trying to configure an international creative field to a regional creative field focused on celebrating German drama and music, especially German language theatre and German culture by creating Theatereffen, a theatre competition.

“The Berlin Theatre Competition is an attempt to present a selection of drama productions from the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria and Switzerland with the aim of giving not only an overview of the current state of German-language theatre, but also to give an opportunity for comparison... A committee of German, Austrian and Swiss theatre critics has selected productions from the 1963/64 season that seemed especially remarkable to them... Nicolas Nabokov was the Theatertreffen’s director during its founding year.” (<https://www.berlinerfestspiele.de/en/theatertreffen/das-festival/allgemein/allgemein.html> Accessed 1 Aug 2020).

In 2005, this refocus from configuring an international to regional, Germanic creative field was completed with the two arts festivals: Musikfest organized around the Berlin Philharmonic, so a local creative field, and Theatertreffen, the regional German language theatre competition.

Although Edinburgh and Berlin engaged internationally through art festivals, they did so in distinct ways. Edinburgh reconciled warring parties by bringing former adversaries together to perform art whereas Berlin enacted political conflict symbolically to showcase the advantages of democracy over communism. Next, I examine Edinburgh’s and Berlin’s temporal strategies, which attract artists, shape the experience of festivalgoers and gain the attention from the media.

Festivals' Temporal Strategies: Differences in Entraining, Duration and Intensity

A city's temporal strategies for its arts festivals include: whether festivals are entrained, their length (number of days), and their intensity (number of events offered per day), which shape the festival experience for artists and audiences and configure different creative fields. An important question is whether multiple independent city festivals entrain to an external zeitgeber (external pacer), with one another or neither, which enables more artistic projects and events to be offered during the same time period, shapes whether its festivals are perceived as one arts festival or as distinct, and configure international or regional creative fields.

Edinburgh. The Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama (EIF) was a conscious, collective intent to bring Edinburgh into and reconfigure the elite international creative performing arts field. In 1945, Lord Falconer, Provost of Edinburgh, described these aspirations: “presenting the best that the world has to offer in music, drama and ballet...envisaged on a scale comparable to Salzburg, Munich and other pre-war festivals” (New York Times, Nov 23, p. 23). Only Edinburgh International Festival was planned by the British Council and Edinburgh Town Council; yet three other festivals emerged around and entrained to the Edinburgh International Festival: the Edinburgh International Film Festival (1947), the ad hoc Edinburgh Fringe festival (1947) and the Royal Edinburgh Military Tattoo (1950). As shown in Table 2, the other three festivals purposely entrained on the Edinburgh International Festival August schedule in August to co-occur and thus have similar duration over time by aligning opening and closing dates. This synchronizing the four festivals profoundly shaped the intensity of the Edinburgh festival experience and attracted both international and local audiences and media.

Insert Table 2 about here

The histories of the other three festivals reveal that they entrained or synchronized intentionally with the Edinburgh International Festival. The organizers of the Scottish Film Guild approached the Edinburgh International Festival director to secure space on the program. However, the Scottish film guild was told there was no room in the programme (Hardy, 1992); thus, the Film Guild created a parallel festival, initially for one week in August, and with a focus on documentary films, which expanded to

expanded to three weeks and multiple genres of film (Hardy, 1992). The Fringe festival sprung up around the Edinburgh International Festival when uninvited amateur theatre groups showed up to perform in Edinburgh. Because the theatres were all booked, they performed their plays in alternative venues, such as an Abby, a restaurant in a cinema and the YMCA (Moffat, 1978). The Military Tattoo was started by Edinburgh International's Assistant Director Ian Hunter to provide Scottish culture of piping and dancing (Crawford, 1997); the performances of 1949 were so popular with audiences that by 1950 it became its own festival. In addition to these other festivals, art galleries and museums synchronized their major exhibitions with the Edinburgh International Festival. There were from two to 68 art exhibits each festival year during 1947-1969 with an average of 34 art exhibits per festival; these arts exhibit eventually became an August Edinburgh Arts festival in 2004. Several of the art exhibits were world class and sought to configure Edinburgh arts to elite internationally oriented museums, such as the Tate in London: "the series of major exhibitions of modern French painters organized for the Edinburgh Festival and then shown in London at the Tate Gallery" (Sylvester, 1957, New York Times, October 6). Edinburgh's Arts Festivals reveal an bottom up entrainment process, whereby new festivals emerged and synchronized their chronological time and duration with Edinburgh International Festival. In this way, Edinburgh International Festival, which originally entrained to the Salzburg Festival calendar, became the zeitbegeer for Edinburgh's multiple city festivals

The entraining amongst Edinburgh's independent festivals meant that the media usually refereed to the "Edinburgh Festival" (rather than naming festivals individually). It also shaped the intensity of the festival experience, attracting audiences and media. Audiences had vast opportunities for diverse cultural experience during their visit. The average number of events available per day to an audience member was 50, which does not include the art exhibits! This intensity, perhaps even frenzy, was noted by the music critic for the New York Times:

"For three weeks Edinburgh has been in a whirl of activity...Rising early in the morning the assiduous music lover could spend the forenoon at one of the Chamber concerts at Freemasons Hall...Having snatched a hasty meal, he could on most days repair to Usher Hall to hear a recital by celebrated artists...In the evening the choice was positively embarrassing. There was always an Opera...for the first fortnight there was the lavish and beautiful production of Tchaikovsky's

The Sleeping Beauty from Covent Garden Theatre...And most evenings there would be an orchestral concert. After that supposing he had any energy left, he could climb the castle hill and watch the reels of kilted dancers to the music of pipes.” (Hussey, 1947, New York Times, Oct 5, p. X7).

By entraining, or synchronizing its festivals for diverse artistic offerings, Edinburgh reconfigured the arts festival field to become one of its centers. The headline of the 1947 New York Times article blared: *Edinburgh's First Big Festival: Establishes City As Center Of International Culture*. Edinburgh was soon recognized as distinctive: “Edinburgh has created a festival of distinctive character. It is more austere than Salzburg’s geneal mood but has a greater integrity. It is more comprehensive than the other important post-war festival in Britain, at Cheltenham, where the emphasis is on British music” (Hussey, 1948, New York Times, Sept 26, p. X7). The 1948 festival attracted half a million visitors and exceeded \$400,000 in ticket sales (New York Times, Sept 28, p. 39). By 1949 Edinburgh was recognized as a key festival on par with other European festivals; it was invited to coordinate with Holland and Salzburg festivals in 1949 and did so in 1950. “The Edinburgh and Salzburg festival committees have accepted invitations to meet with the Holland group to work out plans for cooperation among Western European music festivals” (New York Times, 10 January 1950, p. 38). By synchronizing its four arts festivals to the same time keeper—the Edinburgh International Festival—Edinburgh offered variety, pace and quality that reconfigured creative fields at multiple levels: the local creative field of Edinburgh city, the creative field of Scottish arts and culture and the international creative field of performing arts.

Berlin. In 1951, there were three German festivals—two sponsored by the U.S. and one by the Soviets, which were sequentially paced and indicated rival acts of softpower—act and counteract—between West and East. The Berlin International Film and Festwochen festivals sought to configure German culture and audiences through re-establishing and reconnecting Berlin to its history and commitment to the arts and also to build relations between German artists and audiences with international artists and audiences with creative fields.

The International Film Festival in June 1951 originally entrained to Cannes and its opening attracted some media attention (three New York Times articles in 1951), which highlighted being part of

an international creative field: ten U.S. film companies (1951 New York Times, Feb. 21, p. 30), the participation of many countries and the excellence of German filmmakers: “Flags of twenty-one nations fluttered atop the Titania Palast, the largest theater in the western sector, as Berlin's first International Film Festival opened last Wednesday with ceremonies which brought top honors to two German language productions” (McLaughlin, 1951, New York Times, June 10, p. x3).

In August 1951, the East Germans sought to counter Berlin's International Film festival by offering the East German Youth Conference in Berlin during August (between the June Berlin Film Festival and September Berlin Festowchen). The East German Youth Festival garnered 29 articles in the New York Times—far more than the Berlin Film Festival. The New York Times articles, however, highlighted how capitalism was attractive to East German Youth: “A stream of blue-shirted Communist youth sifted into West Berlin from dawn until late tonight turning their backs on sports, ‘cultural’ activities and speeches to taste the forbidden fruits of capitalism” (Middleton, 1951, New York Times, Aug 8, p. 1). The articles also noted the tensions between East and West Berliners: “More 6,000 shouting, singing Communist youth, headed by bandaged ‘heroes’ dispersed peacefully tonight after a two-hour ‘protest rally’ against the West Berlin police they accused of having assaulted communist demonstrators” (New York Times, 19 August 1951, p. 18).

In September 1951, the Berliner Festwochen, which focused on Music and Drama, offered a counter-narrative to East Berlin's Youth Festival. It elicited 45 articles in the New York Times. The Berlin Festwochen: “September is ‘festival month’ in Berlin, when the Western zone will show the Eastern what it can do. Industry, sport, and all branches of the arts will be represented, and important contributions will be made by Britain, the United States and France” (August 26, 1951, p. 11). It highlighted the symbolic and material place between two rival axis: “President Theodor Heuss tonight officially rededicated the newly renovated Schiller Theatre on the Berlin East-West axis and simultaneously opened the “Festival Week” (McLaughlin, 1951, New York Times, Sept 6, p. 39). The Berlin festivals offered a counter-narrative to Soviet communism and sought to reconfigure Berlin to its history of arts and culture and link

German citizens to the international creative fields through arts festivals. In essence, the arts festivals were building bridges and relations among German artists and audiences to one another and to the world.

The temporal strategies of the Berlin arts festivals reveal that they had no chronological overlap; they were sequential in calendar time and each festival offered substantially fewer events to festival goers per day, creating a lower intensity experience and configuring a more local creative field of artists and audiences more proximate to Berlin since travel would be required to attend each festival.

Insert Table 3

The rival West and East Berlin festivals had significantly different effects on configuring German audiences: the East Berlin Youth festival fizzled by 1956 (one article in 1952, zero in 1953, and four in 1954) whereas the Berlin Film Festival and Berlin Festwochen gained traction over time. The Berlin International Film Festival eventually arose to peer status alongside Venice and Cannes Film Festivals. The Berlin Festwochen Arts festival, originally oriented toward international relations, re-oriented toward a more German focused culture expression and configuring the creative fields of German language theatre with Theatertreffen and creative field of music with Musikfest (Classical) and MaerzMusik (experimental).

A city's temporal strategy for multiple festivals—the combination of entraining, duration and intensity—shapes the experience of its festivals, which configures a creative field through which artists offer what types of creative works, the audiences who attend and the media who recognize or disparage the festival. When multiple festivals within a city entrain to or synchronize with one another and are of longer duration, they may compete for but also offer more choices to audiences as well as creating a more intense experience. This longer and more intensive festival likely attracts more international audience members and media attention since they can gain a diverse experience in one trip. In contrast, when a city spreads out its festivals sequentially, this may enable local audiences to attend more festivals but also deter international audiences who must travel repeatedly. By having shorter, independent festivals, a city engenders a more relaxed pace for and experience of festivals with fewer choice conflicts and less intensive days, which appeals to local citizenry by adding consistent variety of events over the year.

Next, I examine the effects of these temporal strategies on field configuration for the Edinburgh and Berlin Festivals.

Configuring the Field: Media and Audience Attention to Edinburgh and Berlin Festivals

As shown in Figure 1, the media attention to the Edinburgh International Festival began in 1945 before the first festival, which was hosted in 1947. Media attention from the *New York Times* to Edinburgh Festivals outpaced that to Berlin festivals across 1945-1969 time-period. (The 29 articles on the East Berlin Youth Festival were not included in the chart). As mentioned earlier, Americans during the 1950s were relatively wealthy compared to the war ravaged and decimated economies of Europe. Thus, Americans could travel and pay to attend festivals, which was key to festivals' success.

Insert Figure 1 here

The Google N-grams in Figures 2 and 3 reveal the dynamics over time and indicate the fields that were configured, offering three insights. First, there is potentially a lower level threshold effect that must be met for a city festival to gain attention, regardless of dominant language. The English language texts, similar to the *New York Times*, reveals that Edinburgh festivals dominated Berlin Festivals in terms of sustained attention. In contrast, when Berlin only had two festivals associated with the city name from 1951 through 1963, the German language books initially highlighted Edinburgh Festivals and then after 1964 switched to Berlin Festivals. The change in media attention of Ngram aligns with changes in Berlin's festivals: the Berliner Festowchen was refocused into Berliner Theatertreffen with German drama competition and two festivals were added: the Berlin Jazz Festival in 1964 and MaerzMusik in 1966. These changes may have created a threshold where Berlin was now within the attention span of German speaking audiences that was codified in German books.

Second, the simmering conflict between democracy and communism seen in competing 1951 Berlin festivals may have created confusion or counter-narratives that made it harder to recognize which Berlin was associated with what festival. When the East German festival faltered and the conflict was materialized into a wall, this may have spurred the importance of free and artistic expression in German

language to retain German culture. After the Berlin Wall was built in 1963 and two more festivals were added in 1964 and 1966, the codification of Berlin's festival into German texts grows significantly over that of Edinburgh Festivals from 1978 onwards before the Berlin Wall is removed in 1989.

Third, despite both festivals being aimed at international arts field, they had differential recognition, which suggests that creative fields may be local, regional or international. Edinburgh Festivals are internationally recognized by the New York Times and in English and German texts from its beginning whereas Berlin Festivals are not recognized and then only later by German language audiences. Thus, creative fields may be parsed and defined by their primary language and arts culture. This suggests that field configuration studies may need to engage in more comparative research instead of relying on single case studies in order to understand and delineate whether a festival or event configures local versus international field.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study highlighted how temporality is a key aspect of festivals and other creative industries but there is little systematic analysis of how the founding time of festivals and their temporal strategies configure a creative field. To address the gap in our knowledge about the temporal dynamics of festivals as creative field configuring events, I examined the natural histories of Edinburgh and Berlin festivals, and the temporal strategies employed by the festivals in these two cities. The study engaged in a cross national and comparative case study to examine how the temporal dynamics of Edinburgh and Berlin arts festivals, including their founding time and temporal strategies, configured different creative fields: local, regional and international.

The study revealed that despite their similar time of founding, which was in response to World War II, the two city's festivals had similarities and differences in their founding conditions. Edinburgh and Berlin through their histories had been centers of and peripheral to culture and politics. The War, however, spared Edinburgh from damage but decimated Berlin. Edinburgh sought to heal wounded relations whereas Berlin was in the vortex of a political power struggle. Both cities engaged in different temporal strategies. Edinburgh entrained its festivals to Edinburgh International Festival whereas Berlin's

festivals were arranged sequentially. These temporal choices configured creative fields differently through recognition by others. Edinburgh's gained recognition early and its four festivals came to be seen as one Edinburgh festival. In contrast, Berlin's festivals were seen as distinct from one another. In addition, the temporal strategies configured creative fields in distinct ways: who attended and wrote about the festivals. Sequential festivals of less duration configured a more locally situated audience, which may be one reason why Berlin's festivals are primarily German speaking (Germany and surrounding countries of Austria and Switzerland) whereas Edinburgh's festivals appealed to international and local audiences.

An important caveat is that media attention and institutionalization into language texts may also be shaped by relevant population size. English-speaking countries contain a larger population than German speaking countries, which reflect potential audiences for a festival. Wikipedia reveals that the five majority English-speaking countries in 1950 had 227 million inhabitants (USA 152.3 million, United Kingdom 50.6 million, Canada 14 million, Australia 8.2 million and New Zealand 1.9 million). In contrast the five countries with majority German speaking inhabitants had 89.2 million inhabitants (West Germany 50 million, East Germany 16 million, Austria 6.5 million, Switzerland 4.7 million of which 65% spoke German or 3 million, Liechtenstein 13.7 million). Thus, English speakers offered a significantly larger audience market with stronger economies than German speaking countries during 1945-1969. This larger audience market may explain the lack of attention to Berlin Festivals by English language newspaper (New York Times) and texts relative to Edinburgh Festival.

The study's findings suggest that cyclicity and linearity—that is the recurring yearly schedule and the linear pace of events over each day and through weeks may complement and be combined in unique ways rather than conflict each other as proposed by Toraldo and Islam (2019). For example, with Edinburgh the cycle and linear relations create an intense experience, configuring a unique creative field as perceived by audiences, the media. Berlin, in contrast, has cycle and linear festival schedule where each festival has a cycle but the festivals are also spread out linearly over the year, reducing intensity and enabling more local participation among city residents. A fruitful area of research is how and when

temporal dimensions may be combined to configure creative fields as unique experiences or may configure conflict and challenges for audiences, festivals and cities into creative fields.

The festivals had distinct entraining. Edinburgh, contrary to Granqvist and Gustaffson (2016) had bottom up entraining, where the other three festivals voluntarily organized their festivals around the Edinburgh International Festival. Berlin Film originally entrained to the Cannes film festival and then shifted its time orientation from June to February. The other Berlin festivals also shifted their chronological time, such as Berliner Theatertreffen moving from October to May. An important future study can examine how easy or challenging it is to shift time orientations and how shifts in orientations may influence other temporal strategies such as duration and intensity that lead to changes in the configuration of creative fields. For example, temporal strategies may elicit and benefit distinct audiences. Berlin's temporal intensity with two events per day played to more local audiences, who could more easily partake of multiple festivals across the calendar year whereas visitors would have to keep returning to Berlin to gain experiences of distinct art forms and would have less choice and variety in creative events. These temporal strategies may have a profound effect on festival outcomes such as size of audience, likelihood of local versus international audience, and the need for and use of public spaces within a city in order to host many rather than few simultaneous events. These temporal strategies of whether to entrain or counter time are also present in sports (e.g., U.S. soccer to align or offset football baseball and basketball seasons) or conferences (whether to align with other academic calendar or conferences or counter schedule). Thus, temporal dynamics and strategies offer an important area for further research within organization studies.

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**FIGURE 1 NEW YORK TIMES ATTENTION TO EDINBURGH AND BERLIN FESTIVALS
1945-1969 (three year smoothing)**

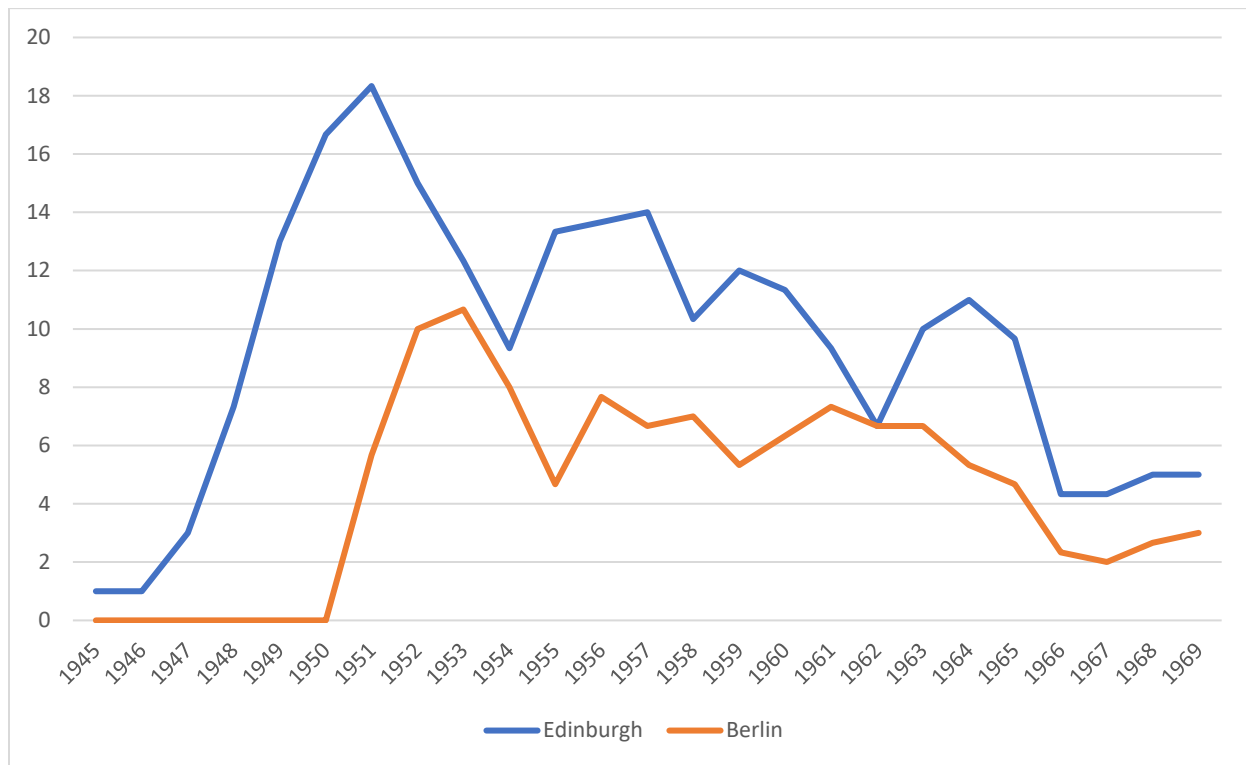


FIGURE 2 EDINBURGH AND BERLIN FESTIVALS ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXTS 1945-1999—GOOGLE BOOKS NGRAM

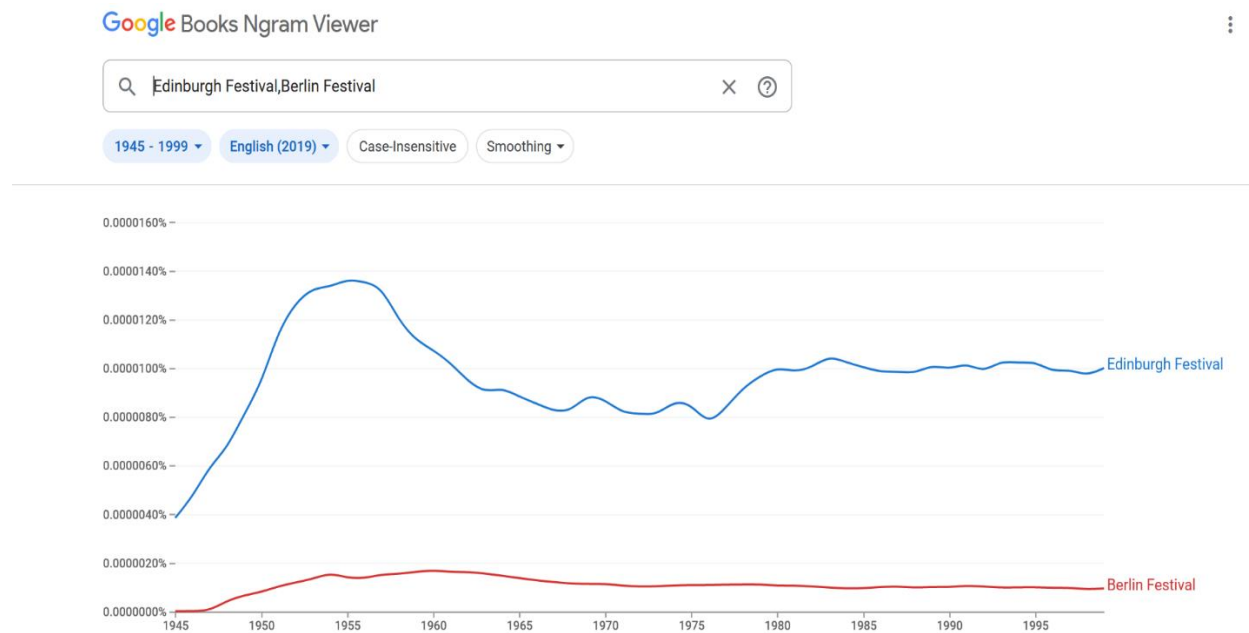


Figure 3 Edinburger and Berliner Festspiele German Language Texts 1945-1999- Google books Ngram

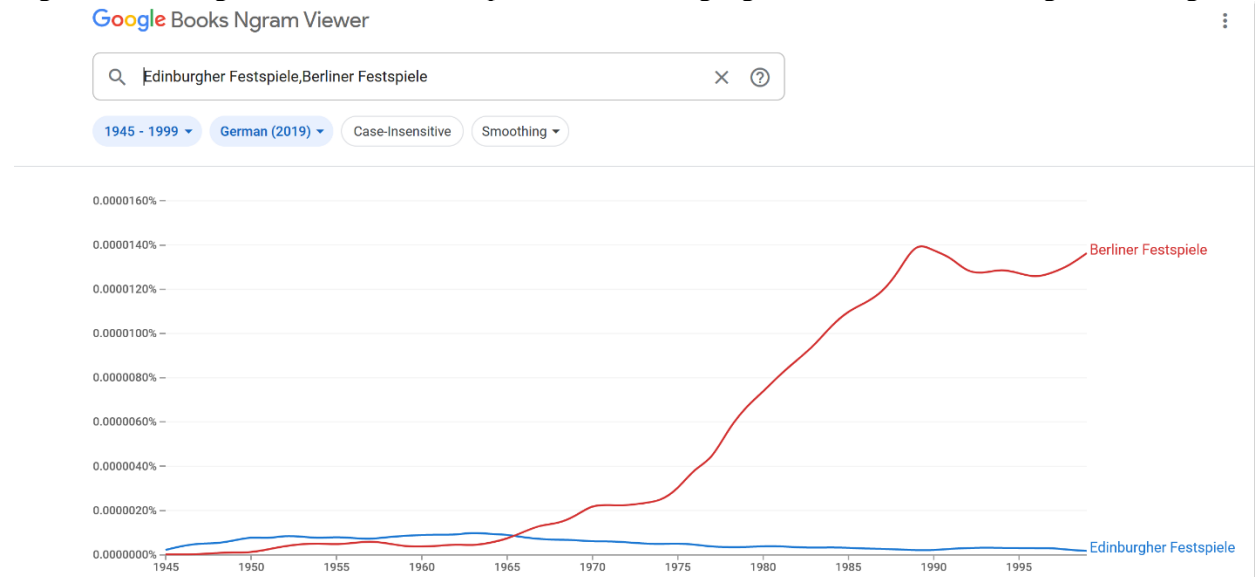


TABLE 1 COMPARISON OF EDINBURGH AND BERLIN TEMPORAL DIMENSIONS

	Edinburgh	Berlin
Temporal Founding Conditions		
Timing	End of World War II	End of World War II-
Mission	Edinburgh to become center of culture and use arts to heal conflict and division of World War II	To express free ideas in democratic society, thwart Communism and attract Eastern Germans to West Germany
Key Actors	Within U.K.: Rudolph Bing (Austrian ex-pat who directed Glyndebourne Opera), British Council, Edinburgh Provost, Edinburgh Town Council	Combination of U.S. (Army and CIA) with Representatives of Berlin Senate and German industry
Original and Additional Festivals	Original-Edinburgh Intl (EIF) conceived 1945 and hosted 1947 Additional three festivals Film 1947 Fringe 1947 Military Tattoo 1947-1949 as part of EIF then distinct festival in 1950	Original Festivals: Berlin Film Festival, conceived by Oscar Martay of U.S. Army in 1950 and Berlin Festwochen also hosted 1951. Additional four festivals: Berlin Jazz 1964 MaerzMusik 1966
Temporal Strategies enacted by Festivals		
Entraining	Edinburgh Intl (EIF) to Salzburg, and Additional Edinburgh festivals to EIF	Berlin Film Festival originally entrained to Cannes film festival, then moved. Additional festivals spread across the months of the calendar-no entraining.
Duration	Three weeks in August	Varies by festival: four to 19 days
Intensity	Average 50 events per day	Average two events per day
Fields Configured		
	International—peer city festival recognized by other city festivals Local-city reorganizes its spaces (streets, parks, squares, theatres, churches, universities etc) around August festival	Mixed: Berlin Film and Jazz festivals recognized as international peer festivals Musikfest, Theatereffen and MaerzMusik recognized by Germanic speaking audiences No indication that city reorganizes its space (parks, streets etc) around the festivals

TABLE 2 EDINBURGH’S CITY FESTIVALS: ENTRAINED AND INTENSE

Festival	Founding Date, Organization	External Pacing: Calendar,	Duration (# days)	Intensity (# Events)	Art Forms and Focus (from websites)
Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama (Edinburgh International Festival or EIF)	1947 Festival Society	Aug/Sept. → Aug. Entrained to Salzburg Festival: July/Aug	~24	98 (1947) 205 (1963) 161 (Avg)	“an annual meeting point for people of all nations...with the finest performers and ensembles from the worlds of dance, opera, music and theatre”
Edinburgh International Fringe Festival (Fringe Festival)	1947-1957 ad hoc 1958 Fringe Society 1969 Fringe Society Ltd	Aug/Sept. → Aug. Entrained to EIF	~24	163 (1947) 1555 (1969) 623 (Avg)	Initially it was theatre groups—drama, puppets, late night revues, physical (circus, acrobatics)—and expanded to stand up comedy, music, lectures. A “spontaneous artistic movement, millions have flocked to the Edinburgh Festival Fringe to produce, and to enjoy art of every genre.” Grows each year, culminating in exponential growth
Edinburgh International Film Festival	1947 Film Guild	Aug/Sept. → Aug. Entrained to EIF	7 (1947) 21 (1951-1969)	150 (1949) 200 (1951/55) 400 screenings	Began as the Edinburgh Documentary film festival and expanded to include independent drama and short films. It seeks to develop UK and Scottish film talent and industry. It is “the world’s longest continually-running film festival.”
The Royal Edinburgh Military Tattoo (The Tattoo)	1947-1949 ad hoc 1950 Military Tattoo	Aug/Sept. → Aug. Entrained to EIF	~24	2 (1949) 20 (1950)	Scottish Command organizes military piping and formation first from Scotland then expanded to military music, formations and dancing from around the world. Audience of 2500 in 1949, 7000 per show in 1950.
Four Festivals			Days: 24 Avg: 23	Events:1204	Events/day: 50

TABLE 3 BERLIN CITY FESTIVALS: SEQUENTIAL AND SPARSE

Festival	Date, Organization	External Pacing: Calendar	Duration (# Days)	Intensity (# Events)	Art Forms and Focus (from websites)
International Berlin Film Festival (Berlinale)	1950, first festival 1951	Originally June and entrained to Cannes Film Festival, then shifted to February	11	23 film screenings (Avg)	Competition among submitted films-- “all genres, lengths and formats are shown...It is one of the largest public film festivals in the world, attracting tens of thousands of visitors from around the globe each year.”
Berliner Festwochen (becomes Musikfest Berlin in 2005)	1951 Run by Berliner Festspiele (1964) & Berliner Philharmoniker Foundation	September (originally 24 days). Shifted to August- /September	19	16 (2004) 14 (2005) 15 (Avg)	“Forum for the innovative creative work carried out by large-scale orchestras and ensembles in the genre of classical and modern music.” By invitation. Run jointly with the Berliner Philharmoniker Foundation
Berliner Festwochen (becomes Berliner Theatertreffen in 2005)	1951 Run by Berliner Festspiele (1964)	October 1964 shifted to May 1965	14	9 (2004) 14 (2005) 12 (Avg)	"theatre encounter" or "theatre meeting. Ten remarkable productions of the season from German-speaking countries selected by a jury of theatre critics and invited to present in Berlin.
Berlin Jazz Festival	1964 Berliner Festspiele	October/November	4-6	30 (1964) 15 (1965) 23 (Avg)	“style-defining icons of jazz and young positions from a wide variety of styles...creative border-crossings and collective visions...one of the longest running European festivals of international renown.
MaerzMusik – Festival of time issues	1966 Berliner Festspiele	March (mid)	8	47 (2005) 36 (2006) 43 (Avg)	“MaerzMusik – Contemporary music is its centre and point of departure for an exploration of the nature of time in life, art and theory ...concerts, performances, installations, film presentations and discourse formats.
Five festivals		Distributed across calendar	Days: 58 Avg:10	Events: Avg: 116	Events/day: 2